THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

EDITED BY
Anna Giacalone Ramat
and
Paolo Ramat

ROUTLEDGE

LONDON AND NEW YORK

16 Albanian

Shaban Demiraj

Preliminary Notes

Albanian, which has been recognized as an IE language since the last century (Bopp 1854), has undergone a continuous process of development which has caused far-reaching changes at all levels of its linguistic structure. However, it has also preserved many features which are characteristic of Proto-Indo-European and which are also to be found in the other IE languages. Like Greek and Armenian, Albanian is a separate branch of Indo-European. In the course of its development it has also evolved a number of features that are characteristic of the Balkan languages as well as its own particular features, which are covered briefly in the following sections.

Although it is one of the oldest Balkan languages, Albanian – like Rumanian and Lithuanian – is attested relatively late in writing. The earliest printed book in Albanian hitherto discovered is John Buzuku's *Missal* (1555). This was written in the northern dialect (Gheg), while *The Christian Doctrine* (1592) by Matranga was written in the dialect of the *arbëresci* of Italy and exhibits characteristics of the southern dialect (Tosk).

Buzuku's book cannot have been the first written in Albanian. Some references indicate that the language must have been committed to writing at least as early as the fourteenth century. The French monk Broccardus, who for a time was archbishop of Antivari (nowadays in Montenegro) claims in a Latin work of 1332, 'Although the Albanians have another language, totally different from Latin, they still use Latin letters in all their books.'

However, no trace has been found of such books. Only a few short sentences dating from the fifteenth century have been found, among which the most notable is the *Baptism Formula* (1462) of the Archbishop of Durazzo, Paolo Angelo: *Un të paghësont pr emënit Atit e t birit e t spertit senit*, 'I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.'

A number of shared orthographical features in the works of Buzuku and Matranga also bear witness to the existence of a written Albanian tradition before the time of these two writers, who had no contact with each other. Among such features we may mention in particular the fact that both Buzuku and Matranga indicate long vowels by doubling the letters in question (see **The Vowel System**, p. 483).

Albanian is currently spoken in Albania (over three million speakers), in the former Yugoslavia – in Kossovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, etc. – (over two million), in Greece (to the south of the Albanian border), as well as by a large number of immigrants in Turkey, the United States, Canada, France, Syria, Egypt, Australia and so on, who have left Albania for economic reasons.

There are also many settlements of *arbëresci* (*arvanites*) in southern Greece, in the Peloponnese and on some of the Aegean islands, as well as a large number *arbëresci* villages in southern Italy and Sicily. Those in Greece were founded during the fourteenth century, while those in Italy and Sicily date from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. In these settlements the *arvanites* or *arbëresci*, who still preserve their mother tongue, speak an old form of Albanian which they call *arbërisht*. (Note that *ë* is similar to French -*e*- in unstressed syllables and *sh* is equivalent to English *sh* in *she*, etc.)

The ethnic name *arbër-esh* (*arbën-esh* in the northern dialect) is derived from *Arbër < Arbën*, the old name for Albania, which has its origins in the name of an Illyrian tribe, the *Albanoi* (in central Albania), mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Geography* (second century AD). This old name for the Albanians also survives in the words *albanenses/arbanenses* (Lat.), *albanese* (It.), *arvanitis* (Gk), *arnaut* (Turkish), etc. But over the past few centuries, the ethnic name *arbën-esh/arbër-esh* has been replaced in modern Albania by the word *shqip-tar*, and the name of the country by *Shqip-ni/Shqip-ë-ri*; these forms derive from the adverb *shqip* (= [ʃʲkʲip]) 'Albanian', whose original meaning seems to have been 'clear', 'frank'. Thus we are dealing with a phenomenon similar to that of the German word *deutsch < diutisc < deot* 'people', if indeed it is connected with *deuten* 'to interpret' (see Paul 1959: vol. I, 81). The adverb *shqip* in Albanian has replaced the old adverb *arbën-isht/arbër-isht*.

The division of Albanian into two main dialects, northern and southern, separated roughly by the River Shkumbin in central Albania, goes back to the first millennium AD (see Hamp 1966: 98). This dialectal division took place during the gradual transition from the 'parent language' to Albanian (see below).

The differences between the two dialects are mainly phonetic in character. The principal differences are: rhotacism of intervocalic -*n*- to -*r*- (cf. *arbën-esh > arbër-esh*), rise of a tonic vowel /ë/ in the southern dialect (see p. 485) and nasalization of tonic vowels before nasal consonants in the northern dialect (see Demiraj 1988: 229ff.). Within each of these two main dialects further subdialectal divisions have been noted; these are characterized by certain innovations which are beyond the scope of the present chapter.
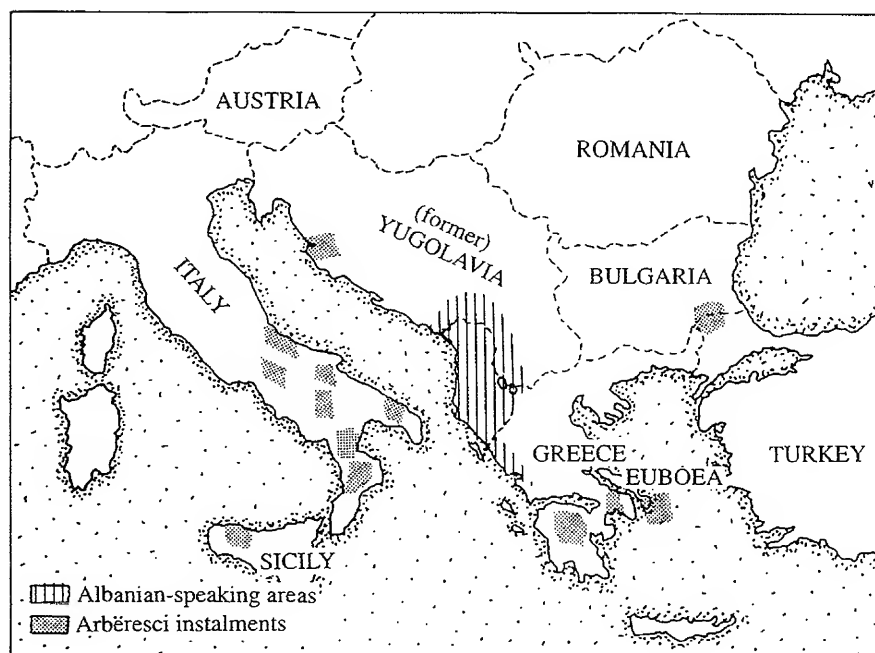
Map 16.1 · Albanian and arbëresci settlements
Source: *Dialectological Atlas of the Albanian Language*, Institute of Linguistics and Literature, Tirana (unpublished)

Origins

The relatively old dialectal division of Albanian once again poses the question of the ancient homeland of the Albanians, as well as the problem of the origin of the language. These two closely related problems have given rise to heated debate which is still continuing. (For a synopsis of these discussions, see Demiraj 1988: 146f.)

As regards the ancient homeland of the Albanians, everything seems to confirm the prevailing opinion that their ancestors in the Graeco-Roman period lived on the coasts of the Adriatic. However, we may follow Hamp (1966: 106) in claiming: 'Of course, in any event we could only prove the Albanians did, and never that they did *not*, precede the Slavs.'

Given such circumstances we may adopt the most plausible view, that Albanian represents a later stage of development of Ancient Illyrian, or more precisely of one of the ancient Illyrian dialects (Meyer 1888: 804). But some linguists maintain that Albanian derives from Thracian or from 'Daco-Mysian' (on all of these views see Demiraj 1988: 147ff.).

The changes that characterize the gradual emergence of Albanian may be assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries AD (see Demiraj 1988: 197ff.).

The reconstruction of the oldest stages of Albanian presents great difficulties, which are due not only to the fact that it is attested late (see p. 480), but also to the fact that there remain very few traces of the ancient Balkan languages, apart from Greek. Thus, whether we accept the theory that Albanian is of Illyrian origin, or we take a different view (see above), the problem under investigation exhibits many unknown factors.

But despite such difficulties, Albanian studies in the past two centuries have helped towards a clear identification of the IE heritage in Albanian at all levels of structure, as well as the peculiarities of its development during the prehistoric and historical periods. Thus, for example, scholars have been successful in establishing, amongst other facts, that Albanian is part of the 'Eastern' (*satəm*) group of IE languages (cf. Chapter 2, **The Tectals**, p. 38), which are distinguished by the development of the labiovelars (see pp. 487f. and Chapter 2, **Obstruents**, p. 33f.).

The following sections give a brief outline of the most notable findings in relation to the IE origins of Albanian and to its development at all levels of structure.

The Phonological System

The phonological system of attested Albanian is evidently the result of a continuous process of development which began in the most ancient period, that is at a time when we assume that the different IE tribes spoke related dialects. A comparison of the modern phonological system with that reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European will show that radical changes have taken place. As will become clear from the following outline, certain changes which have occurred in the Albanian phonological system help to confirm its IE origin and to shed light on questions surrounding certain characteristics of Proto-Indo-European as reconstructed by means of the comparative method.

For example, it has generally been accepted that one of the features which characterized the phonological system of Proto-Indo-European at a certain stage of its development was the opposition between short and long vowels (see Szemerényi 1980: 31; Mayrhofer 1986: 171). This contrast was also characteristic of the phonological system of Albanian (or rather of its 'parent language') at an ancient stage (see below and p. 485). The old opposition between short and long vowels is also confirmed by the ablaut alternations *a* ~ *o* and *e* ~ *o* in the verb system (see p. 495).

In certain cases, such as the gutturals, the development of the Albanian consonant system also demonstrates that the language was characterized at an ancient stage by certain oppositions typical of the IE languages in general (see pp. 487f.).

The Vowel System

As mentioned above, the IE languages had at a certain ancient stage of their development evolved a system of five vowels, **/a e i o u/*, both long and short

(cf. Mayrhofer 1986: 168). It is outside the scope of this chapter to examine in detail the process which led to this situation.

In attested Albanian seven vowels (/a i u e o y ë/) are indicated. These occur both long and short in the works of the oldest writers, for example, Buzuku: *pat baam* 'had done', *nee* (acc.) 'us', *hiirplota* 'full of grace', *syytë e tuu* 'your eyes', etc.; Matranga: *ndë dheet* 'on earth', *u bëë* 'was done', *trij* 'three', etc. (see p. 485).

In attested Albanian, three of the five short vowels of Proto-Indo-European, namely */a i u/, have generally preserved their quality in tonic syllables (unless they have been affected by some phonetic or morphophonological process such as umlaut, q.v. p. 490), for example:

> *i athët* 'acid' < **aḱidus, kap* 'to grasp' (cf. Lat. *capio*), *gji(n)* breast' (cf. Lat. *sinus*), *lidh* 'to tie' (cf. Lat. *ligare*), *gju(n)* < *glu(n)* 'knee' (cf. OIr. *glun*), *ngul* < **n-kul ~ sh-kul* 'to thrust in ~ root out' (cf. Lith. *kuliù*)

However, short */o/ has regularly become /a/, as in Germanic, Lithuanian and so on, for example:

> *na* (nom.) 'we' < **nos, natë* 'night' (cf. Lat. *nox*, Lith. *naktìs* etc.), *darkë* 'supper' (cf. Gk δόρπον) etc.

This change, not found in loan words from Ancient Greek and Latin, took place before these words were borrowed into the Albanian 'parent language'.

Short */e/ in turn originally gave /e/, for example, *mb-ledh* 'to gather' (cf. Lat. *legō*, Gk λέγω), *pesë* 'five' < **penkʷe, dredh* 'to twist' < **dreǵʰ-* etc. But in most cases short /e/ became /ie, ié (je)/ and in some cases /ja/, for example:

> *bie(r)* 'to bear' < **bʰerō, nier* (modern *njer-i*) 'man' < **ner, vjet* 'year' < **wetos* etc.; *mjal-të* 'honey' < **meli-, jetër/jatër* (modern *tjetër/tjatër*) 'other' (cf. Gk. ἕτερος) etc.

See Meyer 1892: 83ff.; Çabej 1970: 105f.

The other two Albanian vowels, /y/ and /ë/, have arisen during the course of development of the language.

The front, rounded, very close vowel /y/ arose from the development of a vowel /u:/ (see pp. 485f.), or under the influence of another /y/, for example in the first syllable of *fytyrë* 'face' < Lat. *factūra*, etc.

The central half-close vowel /ë/ (= /ə/) is also a result of innovation within Albanian. But, unlike the other vowels, which occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables over the whole Albanian-speaking area, the vowel /ë/ occurs in tonic position in the southern dialect only, while in atonic position it is characteristic of the whole of Albanian. In atonic position it has arisen as a result of the reduction of another vowel brought about by the strong stress accent (see p. 486).

The stressed vowel /ë/ arose mainly as a result of the evolution of the vowel /a/ and also in part from the vowel /e/ before a nasal. This type of change is a result of the influence of the following nasal consonant, which first through the nasalization of /a/ led to the vowel being pronounced with a gradual raising of the tongue, that is, increasingly close, so that its pronunciation went beyond the limits of the vowel /a/. A similar phenomenon also occurred in the case of the vowel /e/ under the same phonetic conditions. But in the northern dialect the process of nasalization of /a/ and /e/ did not in either case give rise to the vowel /ë/; this is one of the main differences between this dialect and that of the south. Compare, for example, *nãnë ~ nënë* 'mother', *e ãma ~ e ëma* 'his mother', *bãnj > bënj* (modern *bãj ~ bëj*) 'to do', etc.

It should be noted that in Albanian the vowel /ë/ in tonic syllables occurs only in native words and Latin loans but not in loans from Slavic. It must therefore have developed during the first half of the first millennium AD.

It should also be noted that a similar vowel in stressed (and unstressed) syllables also arose in Rumanian (on which see *ILR*: vol. II, 191; Sala 1970: 33f.).

The long vowels of attested Albanian bear no relation to the long vowels of the ancient IE period (see p. 483). As indicated below, the other IE long vowels, with the exception of long */i/, changed early in Albanian, or more precisely in the 'parent language'. Thus the long vowels of attested Albanian are a result of the independent historical development of the language. In most cases we see a process of compensatory lengthening as a result of the reduction and loss of unstressed vowels or syllables, or due to the contraction of two vowels. For example, *bē* 'oath' < **beë < *bédā* (Meyer 1891: 30), *(ti) lē* 'you left' < *lae, ngē* 'leisure' < *ngae*, etc. Compare also the Latin loans *mjēk* (modern *mjek*) 'doctor' < *medicus, kūt* (modern *kut*) 'yard' < *cubitus*, etc.

The IE long vowels developed as follows in Albanian:

Long */a:/ became /o/, e.g. **māter > motër* 'sister', **tās > a-to* 'those' (f.), etc.
Long */e:/ also became /o/, e.g. *dorë* 'hand' < **ǵʰērā, mot* 'year' (cf. Lith. *mētas*), *plot* 'full' < **plētos* (cf. Lat. *im-plētus*), etc.
Long */o:/ in turn became /e/, e.g. *ne* (acc.) 'us' < **nōs* (cf. Lat. *nōs*), *pelë* 'mare' (cf. Gk πῶλος), *té-të* 'eight' (cf. Gk ὀκτώ, Lat. *octō*, etc.).

Long */i:/, being a vowel of maximum closure, could not undergo such a change, and thus has preserved its quality. But when the system of opposition between long and short vowels broke down, even */i:/ could hardly have preserved its old length. Thus in any attested form such as *pī* 'to drink' (cf. Gk πίνω) the length of the /i:/ must have been reintroduced at a later stage.

Long */u:/ became either the front rounded vowel /y/, or /i/. The latter reflex seems to be the more recent (Meyer 1892: 80), but Pedersen (1900: 340) maintains that the opposite is true. Examples are *dyllë* 'wax' < **ǵʰūd-los,*

(*h*)*yll* 'star' < **sūl-*, *mi* 'mouse' < **mūs*, *thi* 'pig' < **sūs*, etc. (see Meyer 1892: 81).

It should be noted that in some Latin loans long /u:/ also became /y/, for example, *iunctūra > gjymtyrë* 'joint' (of the body), *factūra > fëtyrë > fytyrë* 'face'.

To round off these notes on the Albanian vowel system, it should be noted that some traces of qualitative and quantitative ablaut are preserved in the language. As regards qualitative ablaut, we have the contrast **/e ~ o/* (cf. Gk λείπω ~ λέ-λοιπα). There are very few traces of this type of ablaut in Albanian, but we do find the words *bie*(*r*) ~ *bar* 'to bear' < **bʰerō ~ *bʰorejō* (cf. also *barrë* 'burden' < **bʰorno-*), *vjer ~ var* 'to hang' < **ver- ~ *vor* (see Meyer 1891: 35, 475; Çabej 1970: 119). Note that in attested Albanian the forms *bar* and *var* function as present (indicative).

On quantiative ablaut see p. 483 and p. 495.

As mentioned on p. 484 the rise of the vowel /ë/ in unstressed syllables is a result of the reduction of another vowel caused by the stress accent. This vowel appears in native Albanian words as well as in loans from Ancient and Medieval Greek and from Latin, while in the Slavic loans, in general, no such phenomenon occurs. This supports the claim that the Albanian accent, at least from Graeco-Latin antiquity onwards, was dynamic rather than quantitative in character. No conjecture can be formed about the oldest stages.

Another peculiarity of the Albanian accent is the fact that it is fixed on a certain syllable of the stem. In the case of verbs it regularly falls on the ultimate syllable of bisyllabic or polysyllabic words, while with nouns it can fall on any syllable. In the case of the oldest nouns, however, it most frequently falls on the initial syllable, for example, *émën*(*ë*)/*émër*(*ë*) 'name', *dimën*(*ë*)/*dímër*(*ë*) 'winter', etc. Note also the loan word *móken*(*ë*)/*mókër*(*ë*) < Ancient Gk μᾱχανᾱ́.

Albanian has therefore not preserved the IE feature of accent mobility within the paradigm of one and the same word, a phenomenon which is still alive in Greek, in the Slavic languages in general, and so on.

The Consonant System

The Albanian consonant system, with 29 consonants, is even more complex. Some of these consonants have arisen in the course of the development of the language, e.g. the affricates ‹c› (= /ts/), ‹x› (= /dz/), ‹ç› (= /tʃ/), ‹xh› (= /dʒ/), etc. But since an explanation of all the consonants of Albanian would be beyond the scope of an overview like this, we shall briefly examine here some of the questions surrounding the development of certain oppositions in the consonant system reconstructed for Indo-European; we shall also examine some particular consonants.

Albanian, like the other IE languages, has preserved the contrast *voiceless ~ voiced* in the case of guttural, palatal, dental, labial, etc. consonants, but the opposition between aspirate and non-aspirate consonants was neutralized at

an early stage. The old threeway contrast (*voiceless ~ voiced ~ voiced aspirate*) of certain consonants (see for instance Szemerényi 1980: 47ff., 134ff.; Mayrhofer 1986: 91ff.) has thus been reduced to a twoway opposition (*voiceless ~ voiced*). The old oppositions **/ p ~ b ~ bʰ; k ~ g ~ gʰ; t ~ d ~ dʰ/* etc. have been reduced to the oppositions /p ~ b; k ~ g; t ~ d/ etc., with the aspirates being lost. For example: *pī* 'to drink' (cf. Gk πίνω etc.), *bënj* 'to do' < **baniō, bathë* 'bean' < **bʰakā* (cf. Gk φακός, φακή); *ti* 'you' < **tū ~ darkë* 'supper' (cf. Gk δόρπον) ~ *djeg* 'to burn' < **dʰegʷʰō*, etc.

The loss of the voiced aspirates, which also occurred in other IE languages, must have taken place very early in Albanian. This is supported by the fact that loans from Ancient Greek containing an aspirate consonant appear in Albanian with a simple voiceless consonant (e.g. *mokën*(*ë*)/*mokër*(*ë*), cf. p. 486). Note also that in Ancient Greek the aspirate consonants were voiceless (cf. Chapter 9, (6), p. 235), while in native Albanian words the old aspirate consonants appear as (unaspirated) voiced consonants.

As regards the evolution of the IE *gutturals* (or *tectals*), Albanian corresponds only partially with languages of the *satəm* type, because it has to some extent undergone developments of its own. Albanian thus provides further evidence to support the view that at a certain ancient stage of Indo-European three types of guttural had developed, namely *velars */k g gʰ/*, *palatals */ḱ ĝ ĝʰ/* and *labiovelars */kʷ gʷ gʷʰ/* (cf. Bezzenberger 1890: 235. 244; Pisani 1961: 43ff.; Szemerényi 1980: 137ff.; Mayrhofer 1986: 102ff.; cf. also Chapter 2, **The Tectals**, p. 38 above).

The *velars */k g gʰ/* gave /k g/ in Albanian. However, at a later stage, these consonants underwent palatalization before a front vowel to ‹q› (= /kʲ/) and ‹gj› (= /gʲ/) respectively, e.g.

> *ka* 'ox' < **kav-* (pl. *qe* < **kié*); *shteg* 'path' < **stega-* (pl. *shtigj-e*); *gardh* 'hedge' < **gardas* < **gʰordos* (pl. *gjerdhe-e* < **gierdh-e*) etc.

The *palatals */ḱ ĝ ĝʰ/* produced, respectively, ‹th› (/θ/ as in English *thin*) and ‹dh› (/ð/ as in English *this*) or /d/ (word-initially). According to Pedersen 1900: 340, they changed at an early stage to **[ć, dź]*, then to **[ś, ź]* and finally to ‹th, dh›. Examples of these are:

> *thanë* 'cornel' < **ḱongā, tho-m*/*the-m* 'say' < **ḱens-mi, dimën*(*ë*)/*dimër*(*ë*) 'winter' (cf. Gk χειμών, OCS *zima*)
> *dorë* 'hand' < **ĝʰerā, dhandër*/*dhëndër* 'son-in-law' < **ĝʰent-* (cf. Lith. *ĝéntas*)
> *lidh* 'to tie' (cf. Lat. *ligare*)
> *i madh* 'large' < **maĝʰ-* or **moĝʰ-*, etc.

The *labiovelars */kʷ gʷ gʷʰ/* became /s/ and /z/ respectively before a front vowel /i/ or /e/. In other phonetic environments they became /k/ and /g/

respectively, that is, they behaved like the pure *velars* (see above). Examples:

pesë 'five' < **penkʷe* (cf. Gk πέντε), *sa* 'how much' < **kʷo-*, *se* 'what' < **kʷōd*, *zjarm* 'fire' (cf. Skt *gharmá-s*, Arm. *jerm* 'warm', Gk θερμός 'hot, burning'), etc.

ujk < *ulk* 'wolf' (cf. Lith. *vilkas*, Skt. *vŕka-* etc.), *darkë* 'supper' (cf. Gk δόρπον), *djeg* 'burn' < **dʰegʷʰō*, etc.

It should be mentioned that the development of the *labiovelars* before a front vowel in Albanian has followed a different course from that of the *satəm* languages in general, where the labiovelars underwent a development similar to that of the *velars*. Note also that in Greek (a language generally included in the *centum* language group) the *labiovelars* have also undergone a different development from that of the other *centum* languages (see Rix 1976: 85f.).

As regards the development of the *labiovelars* before a front vowel in Albanian, we must bear in mind the fact that the consonants /s/ and /z/ represent the final stage of this development. The preceding stages are not attested and so remain uncertain, although some views have been expressed on the matter (see Pedersen 1900: 340). It should be stressed, however, that the /s/ and /z/ stage was reached in a period where /s/ would no longer become ‹sh› (= /ʃ/) in Albanian, in other words towards the end of the tenth century AD (see Jokl 1935: 292).

The development /s/ > /sh/, mentioned above, again raises the problem of the fate of IE */s/ in Albanian. Since this is a relevant question and one which is still open to discussion, we shall go into it in rather more detail.

According to the general opinion, */s/ had the following reflexes in Albanian: ‹sh›, ‹gj›, ‹th› and ‹h›.

1   /s/ > ‹sh› (i.e. [ʃ]): *shi* 'rain' < **sū-*, *shta-të* 'seven' < **septḿ̥*, *ásht* 'bone' < **ost-* etc.
2   /s/ > ‹gj›: *gjak* 'blood' < **sok-*, *gjarpën/gjarpër* 'snake' < **serpono*, *gji(n)* 'breast' < **sin-*, *gjash-të* 'six' < **sex*, etc.
3   /s/ > ‹th› (i.e. [θ]): *thi* 'pig' < **sūs*, *tha-j* 'to dry' < **sausniō* (cf. Lith. *saūsas* 'dry', OCS *suchъ*), etc.
4   /s/ > /h/: *hyll/yll* 'star' < **sūl-* (cf. Lat. *sol-*, etc.), *heq* < *helq* 'to carry off' < **selkō* (cf. Gk ἕλκω, Lat. *sulcus-*), etc. this last reflex is debatable.

It is currently very difficult to specify precisely the circumstances which have led to these different reflexes of */s/ in Albanian. It should, however, be stressed that this phenomenon is a result not only of the phonetic environment in which the */s/ was found, but also of the fact that its different reflexes could not have arisen in the same period. It should also be stressed that the most general reflex was /s > sh/, which also affected loans from Ancient Greek (e.g. *presh* 'leek' < πράσον) and from Latin (e.g. *shpërej* 'to hope' < *sperare*,

shkallë < *scala*), as well as the older stratum of Slavic loans (e.g. *grusht* 'fist' < *gъrstъ* etc., on which see Seliščev 1931: 143).

It is not possible, given the scope of this chapter, to go into greater detail about the complex problem of the reflexes of */s/ in Albanian, on which the reader could consult, among others, Meyer (1892: 40–63), Pedersen (1900: 278) and Çabej (1970: 136–9).

Grammatical Structure

Like the phonetic system of the language (see **The Vowel System**, pp. 483f.), the grammatical structure of Albanian is also the result of a prehistoric and historical process of evolution. Thus, alongside some features inherited from an ancient IE stage of development, there also occur new features which have developed in different periods of the development of Albanian and of its 'parent language'. It should be emphasized that both old and new features have been adjusted to the needs of the linguistic system of Albanian and have thus led to the formation of a comlex but unitary grammatical structure.

In keeping with the introductory scope of the present article, we shall concentrate here on the main IE features and on some relevant innovations in the grammatical structure of Albanian.

The Noun System

In the noun system we find the following features, which are basically Indo-European:

1   traces of neuter gender
2   traces of the old declensional system, which has undergone extensive reorganization.

The Albanian neuter gender is distinguished only in the singular definite declension, where the nominative and accusative have the same ending, unlike nouns of the other two genders, where these two cases are distinguished clearly. Compare for example, masculine *mal-i ~ mal-in* 'the mountain', feminine *fush-a ~ fushë-n* 'the field', neuter *ballë-të* 'the forehead'.

The gradual reduction of the three-gender system through the gradual loss of the neuter is a very old phenomenon in Albanian. The number of neuter nouns appears extremely reduced even in the works of Albanian writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as in all the dialects of the language. In the modern language the neuter has become a residual gender (see Demiraj 1986: 198ff.)

In the plural the attested neuters behave in gender as if they were feminine. This phenomenon of dual gender has also affected certain inanimate masculine nouns over the past few centuries (see Hamp 1958; Demiraj 1986: 206ff.).

ALBANIAN

Even older is the loss of the old threefold opposition between singular, dual and plural. Traces of the dual are not attested.

However, already prior to the sixteenth century the opposition between singular and plural had become more marked. The plural is distinguished by means of a special *stem*, contrasting with that of the singular, and the plural case endings are added to this special stem. Compare *ujk ~ ujq, ujq-ve, ujq-i-sh* etc. 'wolf ~ wolves, to wolves, of wolves'. This phenomenon, which also occurred for example in Rumanian (cf. *om ~ oameni, oameni-lor* 'man ~ men, to the men') and in German (cf. *Mann ~ Männer, den Männer-n*), goes back to the pre-literary period of Albanian (see Demiraj 1986: 213f., 1988: 71).

In the plural of certain masculine nouns a number of phonetic phenomena with morphophonological repercussions also took place, such as the umlaut /a ~ e/ and the palatalization of certain stem-final consonants; for example *dash ~ desh* 'ram ~ rams', *plak ~ pleq* 'old (sg.) ~ old (pl.)' etc. These two phenomena are a result of the old masculine nominative plural ending *-i < *-i < *-oi (of pronominal origin), which is also attested in other IE languages, such as Greek, Latin, the Balto-Slavic languages, and so on.

The umlaut, a process of regressive assimilation, took place at a time when the ending *-i had not yet been reduced to the semi-vowel *-j, while the palatalization of the final consonant of the stem of certain nouns took place while the ending was *-j; this then vanished completely from the Albanian noun system.

The umlaut took place before Albanian came into contact with Balkan Slavonic, that is before the seventh to eighth centuries AD (see Demiraj 1986: 111f.). A similar phenomenon also occurred in the Germanic languages (see Paul 1959: vol. I, 111, 248ff.; cf Chapter 13, p. 390).

Although the old IE declensional system has undergone considerable change, it has also left behind clear traces in Albanian. Thus, for example, nouns on the whole distinguish both formally and functionally such cases as the nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and the so-called ablative, particularly in the definite declension, where the forms of the postposed article (p. 492) have merged over time with the indefinite forms of the noun cases. Table 16.1 shows, by way of example, the indefinite and definite declension of three Albanian nouns: masculine *mal* 'mountain', feminine *fushë* 'field' and neuter *ujë* 'water':

The endings attested for the indefinite declension are *-i (-u) ~ -e* in the genitive-dative singular, *-v-e* in the genitive-dative plural and *-sh* in the so-called ablative plural.

The ending *-i* goes back to the old IE dative singular ending *-ej*. The ending *-v-e* (with *-v-* to prevent hiatus) goes back to the old IE genitive plural ending *-ōn* (see Pedersen 1894: 254) and the ending *-sh* goes back to the old IE locative ending *-su* (see Pedersen 1900: 280).

Diachronic analysis of the definite declension has made it clear that the accusative singular element *-në* originates from the development of the old

Table 16.1 Examples of indefinite and definite declension

| | Singular | | | | | | Plural | | | | | |
	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite
Nom.	mal	mal-i	fushë	fush-a	ujë	ujë-të	male	male-t	fusha	fusha-t	ujëra	ujëra-t(ë)
Acc.	mal	mal-në	fushë	fushë-në	ujë	ujë-të	male	male-t	fusha	fusha-t	ujëra	ujëra-t(ë)
Gen.	i ... mal-i	i mali-t	i ... fush-e	fushë-së	i ... uj-i	uji-t	i ... male-ve	i maleve-t	i ... fusha-ve	i fushave-t	i ... ujëra-ve	i ujërave-t
Dat.	... mal-i	mali-t	... fush-e	fushë-së	... uj-i	uji-t	... male-ve	maleve-t	... fusha-ve	fushave-t	... ujëra-ve	ujërave-t
Abl.	mal-i	mali-t	fush-e	fushë-së	uj-i	uji-t	male-sh	malesh-i-t	fusha-sh	fushash-i-t	ujëra-sh	ujërash-i-t

Note: The definite forms of the ablative plural have become archaic and are replaced in the modern language with those of the dative plural.

accusative ending *-n plus the corresponding form of the definite article *-të, i.e. *-n + *të > *-ntë > *-ndë > -në. Thus the old IE masculine and feminine noun ending is also attested in Albanian (see Demiraj 1986: 346ff.).

All the attested case endings have preserved the old characteristic of indicating case and number (and in the singular the masculine ~ feminine gender too) at the same time.

In the course of its development Albanian has also come to use a new means of distinguishing the genitive from the dative. This is the so-called 'preposed article', which is declined according to the case, gender and number of the noun modified. For example, *libri i nxënësit* ~ *librit të nxënësit* ~ *librat e nxënësit* 'the pupil's book ~ to the pupil's book ~ the pupil's books', etc.; *fletorja e nxënësit* ~ *fletores së nxënësit* ~ *fletoret e nxënësit* 'the pupil's exercise book ~ to the pupil's exercise book ~ the pupil's exercise books', etc.

The definite forms of the cases are distinguished from the corresponding indefinite forms by means of the postposed article. This has preserved the inflectional morphology (naturally in reduced form) of the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun from which it originated at a very early stage of development (see Demiraj 1986: 329ff.).

In its use of the postposed definite article, Albanian is in line with Rumanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian. A similar phenomenon also occurred in Armenian and the Scandinavian languages. But in the course of its development Albanian has also created a preposed article, which serves *inter alia* to distinguish the genitive from the dative (see above) and also functions as an integral part of the adjectival group (see below) etc. A similar phenomenon also occurs in Rumanian; for further details on this point see Demiraj 1986: 326f.

Over the course of time the indefinite case forms have generally lost their ability to be used without a preposed determiner or a preposition. However, some are still used on their own with certain functions (see Demiraj 1986: 398f.). More frequently used without a preposed determiner are the definite forms of the noun. It will suffice to bear in mind the fact that the indefinite forms of the genitive and dative cannot be used without a preposed determiner, while the definite forms of these two cases are usually used without such a determiner.

It should also be noted that the use of prepositions with the different cases has been increasing, and, what is most striking, that even the nominative is being used with certain prepositions (see p. 497).

Adjectives have generally preserved their grammatical agreement with the noun. However they have lost the old system of inflectional declension, but in order to express grammatical agreement some adjectives use the forms of a preposed article which has become an integral part of them. These form the 'pre-article' group of adjectives, which contrast with the other group of adjectives; compare *i mirë* 'good ~ *besnik* 'faithful'.

The preposed article in adjectives of the type *i mirë* is declined according to the case, gender and number of the noun it modifies, for example, *djali i mirë* 'the good boy' ~ *djalit të mirë* 'to the good boy' ~ *djalin e mirë* 'the good boy (acc.)' ~ *djemtë e mirë* 'the good boys'; *vajza e mirë* 'the good girl' ~ *vajzës së mirë* 'to the good girl' ~ *vajzën e mirë* 'the good girl (acc.)', etc.

This phenomenon, which also occurred in the genitive (see p. 492), gave way to a notable Albanian innovation distinguishing it from Indo-European, namely a system of word-initial inflection, a phenomenon also characteristic of the possessive pronouns (see below).

Pronouns

In the pronoun system too there are considerable IE remnants, as well as notable innovations. Among the inherited elements, the following should be noted.

The personal pronouns of the first two persons: *u-unë* 'I', *na* 'we', *ti* 'you (sg.)', *ju* 'you (pl.)'. These have their own special declension, as in the other IE languages.

U-në, on the origin of which see Demiraj (1986: 447f.), has suppletive forms in its other cases: *mua* 'me', *me-je* '(from) me'. Compare also *ti ~ ty ~ te-je* 'you (nom.) ~ you (acc.) ~ (from) you' etc. In the dative and accusative, alongside with the tonic forms, there appear also clitic (generally reduced) forms like *më* for *mua*, *të* for *ty*, etc. Such clitic forms, which arose in other IE languages (e.g. in the Romance languages, etc.) are also used in the third-person personal pronouns, which are of demonstrative origin (and which still retain this function). Compare for example *a-i ~ a-tij/i ~ a-të/e* etc. 'that ~ to that ~ that (acc.)', etc.

This is a widespread phenomenon in the IE languages, where the third-person pronoun is generally of demonstrative origin. In Albanian the demonstratives in question go back to the IE demonstratives *so, sā, tod* (see Pedersen 1900: 312; Demiraj 1986: 465ff. and cf. Chapter 2, p. 65). But at some stage of the development of Albanian the prefixes *a-* and *kë-* were added to these demonstratives to indicate objects 'far away from' and 'close to' the speaker respectively (e.g. *a-i/a-y, a-ta* etc. 'that, those', *k-y, kë-ta* etc. 'this, these', etc).

It seems that Albanian has lost at an early date the other demonstratives attested in languages such as Latin (cf. *is, hic, ille*) etc. The Albanian demonstratives have preserved their own special declensional system, obviously reduced in the number of its forms (see Demiraj 1986: 463ff.).

Another inherited pronominal form is the interrogative *ku-sh* 'who?' < *k^wu-* (?) (acc. *kë < kā < *k^won*, dat. *ku-i-t*), corresponding to Latin *quis*, Greek *tis < *k^wis* etc. Among the Albanian pronouns there are also other inherited forms, on which see Demiraj (1986: 504ff.).

A large number of new pronominal forms have appeared during the course of the development of Albanian. We should mention in particular the first- and

second-person possessive pronouns and some indefinite pronouns, which are agglutinated forms.

The first- and second-person possessives were formed by means of the merger of two elements, the first of which was a demonstrative or a preposed article and the second a personal pronoun form. Compare, for example, *i-m* 'my' < *a-i* + *m(ua)*, *y-t* 'your' < *a-y* + *t(y)*, *y-në* 'our' < *a-y* + *ne*.

In these agglutinations the first element is declined regularly (e.g. *i-m* ~ *ti-m*). Their declension, once extremely complex, has been reduced considerably over the past few centuries (see Demiraj 1986: 481f.).

Among the indefinite pronouns agglutinated forms have also arisen, for instance, *kush-do* 'whoever', *cili-do* 'anyone, anybody', *çfarë-do* 'whatever'. Such words were formed by means of the agglutination of two elements in a subordinate clause. Thus, from constructions of the type *Këtë e bën kush do* (lit. 'Does this who will') there was a move to constructions of the type *Këtë e bën kushdo* 'Does this who will' (lit. 'Who will does this'), i.e. 'anybody does this'.

From the point of view of their formation, these agglutinated pronouns are similar to Rumanian pronoun forms of the type *cine-va*, *care-va* 'whoever', etc. For further details see Demiraj (1988: 104f.).

The Verb System

The Albanian verb system as compared with the noun system is more complex both in terms of IE inheritance and in terms of innovation. However, in order to gain a clearer impression of the IE traces, it should be stressed that they are grammatical phenomena and forms which are generally attributed to many IE languages at an ancient stage of evolution.

Attested Albanian has preserved very few traces of the athematic conjugation in *-mi* (only three verbs: *ja-m* 'to be', *ka-m* 'to have' and *tho-m* 'to say'), while the type of conjugation in *-ō/-jō* has become very productive. This is particularly true of the *-jō* conjugation, whose first element in certain cases caused the palatalization of the final consonant of the verb stem; for example *bãnj/bënj* 'to do' < **banjō* (for the morphological type cf. Gk φαίνω, Lat. *faciō* etc.).

Albanian still clearly preserves the contrast in tense between the present, imperfect and past definite. However, it should be noted that not only forms of the old sigmatic and asigmatic aorist but also forms of the old synthetic perfect have been merged in the so-called past definite. It should also be noted that Albanian, like most of the IE languages, has over time also developed analytic forms of the perfect and pluperfect, formed using the auxiliary verbs *to have* and *to be* (for the active and the middle voice respectively) with the past participle.

Traces of the sigmatic aorist, attested in Greek (cf. ἔ-λυ-σ-α etc.), Latin (cf. the so-called perfect of the type *scrip-s-i*) etc., have been preserved only in

the first person of certain native verbs, such as *ra-sh-ë* 'I fell', *qe-sh-ë* 'I was', *tha-sh-ë* 'I said', *la-sh-ë* 'I left', etc. In such cases the formant *-sh-* goes back to the sigmatic element **-s-* (see Brugmann and Delbrück 1913: 390ff.; Watkins 1969: 44).

Albanian has also preserved traces of the quantitative ablaut which in certain verbs characterized the opposition between the present and (synthetic) perfect (cf. Lat. *venio* ~ *vēni*, *lego* ~ *lēgi*, etc.). These traces are visible in many verbs of the type *dal* ~ *dol-a* 'I go out ~ I went out', *bredh* ~ *brodh-a* 'I run ~ I ran', *dredh* ~ *drodh-a* 'I twist ~ I twisted', etc. In such cases the *o* of the old synthetic perfect was a result of the development **ā* > *o* or **ē* > *o* (see p. 485).

There are also traces of suppletion (cf. Lat. *sum* ~ *fui*, *fero* ~ *tuli* etc., English *I go* ~ *I went* etc.), for example *ja-m* ~ *qe-sh-ë* 'I am ~ I was', *jap* ~ *dha-sh-ë* 'I give ~ I gave', *ka-m* ~ *pat-a* 'I have ~ I had', *shoh* ~ *pa-sh-ë* 'I see ~ I saw', *rri* ~ *ndenj-a* 'I sit ~ I sat', etc.

Albanian has also preserved some verbal endings inherited from an old stage of Indo-European.

The plural endings *-më*, *-të*, *-në*, which have been preserved in particular in the past definite (cf. *qe-më*, *qe-të*, *qe-në* 'we were, you were, they were'), but also in the present (with the exception of the second person) and the imperfect (with occasional lengthening) go back to the old IE endings **-mes/-mos*, *-tha/-ta*, *-e/onti* respectively.

The ending *-m*, which appears only in the present (first-person singular) of a very small number of verbs (*ja-m* 'I am', *ka-m* 'I have', *tho-m* 'I say'), goes back to the old *-mi* conjugation verb ending **-mi* (cf. Gk εἰ-μί, Lat. *su-m*, Skt *as-mi* etc).

The ending *-sh*, which appears in the second-person present subjunctive (e.g. *të je-sh* 'that you be', *të shko-sh* 'that you go', etc.) goes back to the old ending **-si* (cf. Skt *bhara-si*, Lat. *amā-s*, etc.).

The ending *-të*, which occurs in particular in the third-person present subjunctive of *-mi* conjugation verbs (cf. *të je-të* 'that he be', but also *ësh-të* 'he is', *të ke-të* 'that he have', *të tho-të*, but also *tho-të* 'that he say' and 'he says'), goes back to the old IE ending **-ti* (cf. also Lat. *es-t*, *habe-t*, etc., Ger. *is-t* etc).

However, there are also endings which have arisen in the course of the development of Albanian, on which see Demiraj (1986: 685ff.).

It can be claimed that the system of inflectional endings in Albanian, as in the other IE languages, has undergone a continuous process of formal reshaping. But all the Albanian endings, whether inherited or innovatory, have preserved one characteristic of Indo-European in that they are multifunctional morphs. In fact, they indicate not only the person but also the number, tense and in certain cases also the mood of the verb. For example, the ending *-sh* in *të je-sh* 'that you be' indicates that the verb is second-person singular present subjunctive.

The forms in *-m, -në, -rë, -të* which appear in the past participle and in certain adjectives (mainly those derived from verbs) were also inherited from an ancient IE stage of development. Compare, for example, in Buzuku: *bā-m* 'done', *ble-në* 'bought', *bā-të* 'done', etc. These forms go back to IE mediopassive participles in *-mo/-meno-* and verbal adjectives in *-to/no-* (cf. *lauda-tus*, Gk λυό-μενος, Ger. *ge-schriebe-n, ge-hab-t* etc.).

In modern Albanian the form *-në* is more frequent; this is realized as *-rë* in the southern dialect (with the development *-n- > -r-* discussed on p. 481).

Among the important innovations in the verb system of Albanian we should note above all certain phenomena which also appear in other Balkan languages. These are *inter alia*:

1   the appearance of a preposed particle in the subjunctive (cf. Alb. *të bëj* 'that I do', Gk νὰ κάνω, Rum. *să fac*, Bulg. *šte pravja < šte* + indicative form)

2   the formation of the future by means of a fossilized form of the auxiliary verb *to want* (cf. Alb. *do të bëj* 'I shall do', Gk θὰ κάνω, Bulg. *šte pravja*, Rum. *o să fac*, but also *voiu face*)

3   the frequent use of the subjunctive in place of the infinitive (cf. *dua të bëj* 'I want to do', cf. Gk θέλω νὰ κάνω, Rum. *voiu să fac*, Bulg. *šta da pravja*). (See Sandfeld 1930: 182, Banfi 1985: 58f.).

As regards the infinitive, which since early times has developed independently in the IE languages (cf. Lat. *lauda-re, es-se* etc., Gk λύειν, λύσειν etc.), it remains unclear whether such a form ever existed in Albanian, where we find an analytic form functioning as an infinitive, namely the form of the type *me tha-në* 'to say', formed with the preposition *me* 'with' and the substantivized past participle. It is not certain whether this form, which is better attested in the northern dialect, has replaced a synthetic infinitive (see Demiraj 1986: 1010ff.).

Invariable Elements

Albanian adverbs of IE extraction tend to be of pronominal or adjectival origin. They include the interrogative adverts *ku?* 'where?' (cf. the pronoun *ku-sh* on p. 493), *si?* 'how?' < *$k^w ei$* etc., *mirë* 'well' (cf. *i mirë* 'good'), *zi* 'darkly' (cf. *izi* 'dark'). In the latter cases the adverb is distinguished from the corresponding adjective by the absence of the preposed article.

Most of the adverbs in Albanian are fairly old creations. Among these we should mention the very old fossilized and reduced forms such as *sot* 'today' < *so dite* 'of this day', *sonte* 'tonight' < *so nate* 'of this night', *sivjet* 'this year' < *si vjeti* 'of this year'.

Albanian has also preserved some old prepositions, some of which are of IE origin, such as *ën* 'of' (attested in Buzuku); *ndë/në* 'in, at', *mbi/mbë* 'on,

above', etc. (see Demiraj 1986: 630ff. for bibliography).

Many prepositions are of adverbial origin. These include *gjatë* 'along', *afër* 'near', *larg* 'far from'.

The prepositions in Albanian govern the accusative (e.g. *në, mbi* etc.) or the dative–ablative (e.g. *prej* 'from, by', *gjatë* 'during', etc.). However, as mentioned on pp. 492, there are also prepositions (*nga* 'from' and *tek* 'near') which govern the nominative, a phenomenon which is not attested in other IE languages.

Similarly very few of the conjunctions have been inherited from the ancient IE period. One might mention here the coordinating conjunction *dhe* 'and', the subordinating conjunctions of pronominal origin *se* 'that' < *$k^w j\bar{o}d$*, *si* 'as' < *$k^w ej$*, *sa* 'scarcely' < *$k^w o$*- (see Pedersen 1900: 317). However, the use of the latter forms as conjunctions very probably dates from a later period. With the development of society the use of conjunctions also became increasingly common and more complex, resulting in the creation of new conjunctions, such as *megjithëse* 'although', *sadoqë* 'though', *kurse* 'while'.

Specific Syntactic Features

As is known, it is very difficult to establish with any degree of certainty which syntactic features were characteristic of Indo-European. Anything that can be deduced from the oldest attested IE languages, such as Greek and Sanskrit, could at least in part be the result of independent developments in these languages. However, it has been possible to establish with some confidence certain rules of sentence construction in Indo-European. These include Wackernagel's Law (Wackernagel 1892: 342, 402), according to which the IE sentence in general could not begin with a clitic word. Moreover, it is generally accepted that there was greater freedom of word order, although the speaker's choice of word order would obviously be dictated by stylistic and pragmatic considerations. It has also been generally agreed that in a stylistically neutral sentence the verbal endings made it unnecessary to express the subject of the clause where this could readily be deduced from the context.

Attested Albanian shows that the language has in part preserved IE-type syntactic features and in part developed features found only in some languages, particularly Balkan languages.

As Albanian has preserved the system of verb endings, the expression of the subject (S) in a stylistically neutral sentence tends to be redundant, particularly when this would have to be expressed using a first- or second-person personal pronoun. In such a sentence the normal word order is (S)VO + other elements, but word order is freer in Albanian than in other languages, e.g. English, German.

However, even in Albanian certain constituents have a fixed position within the clause. This is the case, for example, with certain determiners (see

next paragraph) as well as the clitic forms of the personal pronouns (see below).

Determiners are generally placed beside the noun they modify. However, while in certain IE languages (e.g. the Germanic and Slavic languages) there is a tendency to place determiners before the noun, in others we see the opposite tendency. Thus, for example, in Albanian and Rumanian certain determiners (the cardinal numerals, the demonstratives, the interrogatives, the indefinite pronouns), which are also used alone, are placed before the noun, whereas certain others (e.g. adjectives, ordinal numerals, possessive pronouns), which can be used alone only predicatively or as nouns, are regularly placed after the noun. This post-substantival position is the result of a relatively old tendency in the two languages to postpose 'non-self-sufficient' determiners. This is borne out by the postposing of the definite article, which was originally an anaphoric demonstrative (see p. 492).

Clitic forms of the personal pronouns (see p. 493) are placed immediately before the verb in stylistically neutral sentences. They can also be placed in sentence-initial position; this use must be relatively old, pre-dating by at least a few centuries the work of Buzuku (1555). A similar phenomenon has also taken place in Rumanian and the Romance languages in general, as well as in (modern) Greek and Western Macedonian (but not in Bulgarian or the Slavonic languages in general).

The clitic forms, created by the phonetic reduction of their respective 'full' forms in sentences where they did not represent the 'rheme' of the utterance, serve both to express the direct and indirect objects and to reiterate them. Compare for example *Ai më ftoi* (lit. 'he me invited') ~ *Ai më fioi mua* (*e jo ty*) (lit. 'he me invited me (and not you)) 'he invited me ~ he invited *me* (and not *you*)'. The reiteration of the indirect object now tends to be a general phenomenon in modern Albanian, while the direct object (in the first two persons) is only reiterated when it represents the 'rheme' of the utterance (see Demiraj 1986: 584ff., 1988: 64ff.).

The reiteration of the object complement, a relatively old phenomenon in Albanian (having appeared at least several centuries before Buzuku), has also taken place in the other Balkan languages (Rumanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian and Greek), as also in Spanish, Italian dialects, and so on (see the relevant references in Demiraj 1986: 602ff.).

In Albanian, as mentioned on p. 496, the subjunctive is also used with the characteristic function of an infinitive. This phenomenon, which also occurred in the other Balkan languages (see Sandfeld 1930: 7f., 176f.; Banfi 1985: 58ff.) is more widespread in the southern Albanian dialect and goes back to a relatively old period. The phenomenon, which has given rise to heated debate, is extremely complex and in the case of Albanian needs to be considered in close conjunction with the problem of the infinitive (see p. 496).

The Native Vocabulary

Although it has undergone significant changes in the course of its development, the vocabulary of Albanian has also preserved many words of IE origin. These may be identified by comparison with the corresponding words in other IE languages and are in general words which have undergone ancient phonetic changes such as ablaut, the development of the short and long vowels and of the gutturals, and so on, as discussed above. They may also have undergone semantic change, as for example in the case of the noun *motër* 'sister' < **māter* (see p. 485).

With regard to those words of IE origin, it is important to remember that many have been lost in the course of the centuries, having been replaced in part by foreign borrowings or having gone out of use for a number of reasons. It will suffice to remember, by way of example, the noun *mang-u*, which is found once only in the work of Buzuku with the meaning 'male'. This word, which has been compared with Arm. *manr* 'small, thin' (see Çabej 1976a: 1, 331) has been replaced by the Latin borrowing *mashkull* < *masculus*.

Among the ancient native Albanian vocabulary, other than those words already mentioned above, we should mention *inter alia* the cardinal numerals, which, with the exception of *qind* 'hundred' and *mijë* 'thousand' from Latin *centum* and *milia*, are all native Albanian words deriving directly from Indo-European. In this regard it is also important to note that the numerals eleven to nineteen in Albanian were formed by inserting the preposition *mbë* < *mbi* 'on, above' between the unit and the 'ten', for example, *një-mbë-dhjetë* 'eleven', *dy-mbë-dhjetë* 'twelve'. A similar means of forming these numerals can also be found in the Balto-Slavic languages and Rumanian (cf. Rum. *un-spre-zece*, *doi-/două-spre-zece*).

Moreover, it should be mentioned that in the Albanian number system there are also a few traces of the (pre-IE?) vigesimal system which is so prevalent in Basque (cf. also French *quatre-vingts*). Thus in Albanian we have *një-zet* 'twenty', *dy-zet* 'forty' and in certain archaic dialects also *tre-zet* 'sixty' and *katër-zet* 'eighty'.

The IE origin of the Albanian numerals is demonstrated clearly by their development, which is in keeping with the old sound laws of the language. This has led to a situation whereby some of these words have become phonetically very different from the corresponding forms in the other IE languages. Compare, for example, the numeral *gjash-të* 'six' with Lat. *sex*, Gk ἕξ, Skt *śaś*. The Albanian numeral appears lengthened with the suffix *-të*, deriving, most probably, from the ordinal numerals (see p. 500), as in *shta-të* 'seven', *te-të* 'eight', *nën-të* 'nine'. The form *gjash-*, as compared with **s(w)eks*, exhibits the following changes: *s- > gj-* as in **serpens > gjarpën/ gjarpër* (see p. 488), *-e- > -a-* (see p. 484) and *ks > sh* (= [ʃ]).

A special position in the native Albanian vocabulary is held by those words which have cognates in Rumanian, namely a large number of words which Rumanian has inherited from the substrate. These include: *baltë*, Rum. *baltă*

'mud', *bollë*, Rum. *balaur* 'snake', *bredh*, Rum. *brad* 'fir-tree', *gropë*, Rum. *groapă* 'ditch', *gushë*, Rum. *gușă* 'bird's crop, throat', *nepërkë*, Rum. *năpîrcă* 'viper', *mal* 'mountain', Rum. *mal* 'bank' (see Brâncuș 1983: *passim*).

The presence of such words in both Albanian and Rumanian, which also have other mutual corespondences, has given rise to discussions about their origin, on which see Demiraj (1988: 100ff.).

In the course of its development Albanian has also been enriched with a large number of derived words, some of which are very old. These include the ordinal numerals, which, with the exception of *i parë* 'first', are formed from the corresponding cardinal numerals with the suffix *-të* of IE origin (see Xhuvani and Çabej 1962: 91) and with the preposed article (see p. 492), for example *i dy-të* 'second', *i tre-të* 'third', *i ghjash-të* 'sixth'. However, *i parë* 'first' is from IE *por-* (see Meyer 1891: 321).

Of the native derived words in Albanian, we can also cite by way of example the verbs *n-gul* < *n-kul* 'to thrust in', *sh-kul* 'to uproot', *për-kul* 'to fold'. The root *-kul*, which Meyer (1891: 307) compares with Lithuanian *kuliù kulti* 'to thresh', only occurs in the above-mentioned derivatives.

In the course of its development the vocabulary of Albanian has also been enriched by a large number of compound words, as well as by many loans from Greek (ancient, medieval and modern), from Latin and the Romance languages, from the Balkan Slavonic languages, from Turkish etc. (on which see Demiraj 1988: 105ff.).

References

Banfi, Emanuele (1985) *Linguistica balcanica*, Bologna: Zanichelli.

Bezzenberger, Adalbert (1890) 'Die indogermanischen Gutturalreihen', *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 6: 234–60.

Bopp, Franz (1854) 'Über das Albanesische in seinen verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen', paper presented to the Royal Academy of Science, 18 May 1854.

Brâncuș, Grigore (1983) *Vocabularul autohton al limbii române*, Bucharest: Edit, Științifică și enciclopedică.

Brugmann, Karl and Delbrück, Berthold (1913) *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der idg. Sprachen* 2nd edn, vol. 2, Strasburg: Trübner.

Buzuku, Gjon (1555) *'Meshari' i Gjon Buzukut* (critical edition prepared by Eqrem Çabej), second part, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës. Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë, Tirana, 1968.

Çabej, Eqrem (1970) *Hyrje në historinë e gjuhës shqipe. Fonetike historike e shqipes*, 2nd edn, Prishtinë: Universiteti i Prishtinës (repr. of the 1960 Tirana edition).

—— (1972) 'Problemi i vendit të formimit të gjuhës shqipe', *Studime filologjike* 4: 5–23.

—— (1976a) *Studime gjuhësore*, vol. I, Prishtinë: Rilindja.

—— (1976b) *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, vol. II, Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Gjuhësisë dhe i Letërsisë.

—— (1987) *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, vol. III, Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Gjuhësisë dhe i Letërsisë.

Demiraj, Shaban (1986) *Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe*, Tirana: 8 Nëntori.

—— (1988) *Gjuha shqipe dhe historia e saj*, Tirana: Shtëpia Botuese e Librit Universitar.

Hamp, Eric C. (1958) 'Gender shift in Albanian', *Romance Philology* 12 (2): 147–55.

—— (1966) 'The position of Albanian', in Henrik Birnbaum and Jaan Puhvel (eds), *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 97–121.

—— (1969) vol. II, *Istoria limbii române*, Bucharest: Academia Republicii Socialiste România.

Jokl, Norbert (1935–6) 'Slaven und Albaner', *Slavia* (Praga) 13 (2–3): 281–325; 13 (4): 609–45.

Katičić, Radoslav (1976) *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*, The Hague and Paris: Mouton.

Matranga, Luca (1592) *La 'Dottrina cristiana' albanese di Luca Matranga*, ed. Matteo Sciambra, Vatican City: Bibl. Apostol., 1964.

Mayrhofer, Manfred (1986) *Indogermanische Grammatik*, vol. I, Heidelberg: Winter.

Meyer, Gustav (1888) 'Die lateinischen Elemente im Albanesischen', in G. Gröber (ed.), *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Strasburg, pp. 804–30.

—— (1891) *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strasburg: Trübner.

—— (1892) *Albanesische Studien*, vol. III, Vienna: Holzhausen.

Paul, Hermann (1959) *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. I, 6th edn, Halle (Saale): VEB Max Verlag.

Pedersen, H. (1894) 'Bidrag til albanesiske Sproghistorie.' In *Festkskrift til Vilhelm Thomsen*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, pp. 246–57.

Pedersen, Holger (1900) 'Die Gutturale im Albanesischen', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 36: 277–341.

Pisani, Vittore (1961) *Glottologia indoeuropea*, Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.

Rix, Helmut (1976) *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Sala, Marius (1970) *Contribuții la fonetica istorică a limbii române*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.

Sandfeld, Kristian (1930) *Linguistique balkanique. Problèmes et résultats*, Paris: Champion.

Seliščev, A. M. (1931) *Slavjanskoe naselenie v Albanii*, Sofia: Izdanie Makedonskogo Naučnogo Instituta.

Svane, Gunnar (1992) *Slavische Lehnwörter im Albanischen*, Aarhus: University Press.

Szemerényi, Oswald (1980) *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Wackernagel, Jakob (1892) 'Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung', *Indogermanische Forschungen* I: 333–435.

Watkins, Calvert (1969) *Indogermanische Grammatik*, ed. Jerzy Kuryłowicz, vol. III, *Formenlehre*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Xhuvani, A. and Çabej, E. (1956) 'Prapastetesat e gjuhës shqipe', *Buletin për Shkencat Shoqërore*, 1956 (4): 66–103.

—— (1962) *Prapashtesat e gjuhës shqipe*, Tirana: Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë.